

Bourgeois Democracy-Past Present and Future

Any student of social science and history knows it very well that the bourgeois constitution and the bourgeois parliament of today, once evolved at a particular stage of the historical process of social development as a political superstructure to serve the bourgeois or the capitalist economic base.

The bourgeoisie replaced the feudal order and feudalism, created a new order, achieved industrial revolution, and in place of the old feudal economy, established a new economic system i.e. the capitalist economic order based on Laissez-faire, permitting free and equal competition to all in the economic field.

The prevalence of equal right to all in the economic field, the existing order of free and equal competition necessitated the creation of a new super-structure, covering political, moral, ethical, cultural and juridical aspects of life to basically protect the interest of the bourgeoisie—a super-structure not only compatible with the bourgeois economic order, but also conducive to its growth and development.

It was a time in history when the bourgeoisie was the standard-bearer of democracy, individual freedom and liberty. The bourgeoisie raised the slogan of liberty, fraternity and equality and provided leadership to the struggle of the then people fighting for their liberation from the feudal bondage and all sorts of old decadent ideas covering every aspect of life, the ideas inseparably linked up with the feudalist monarchical rule and absolutism.

It was the dawn of bourgeois democratic revolution in history when the bourgeoisie expressed, "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion and only one person were of

the contrary opinion, mankind would no more be justified in silencing that one person, than he if he had the power, would be in silencing mankind... All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility" (Liberty-J.S. Mill). The bourgeoisie fought for freedom of press, "freedom from absolutism, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of home from arbitrary entrance and search.....liberty of thought, of speech and of conscience....." (E.P. Thompson—The making of English working class).

It must be made clear that in spite of such militant and radical slogans raised by the then bourgeoisie for the establishment of equality and equal freedom for all—real equality can never be established unless there is economic equality i.e. unless country becomes free from economic exploitation of man by man. Since, the establishment of bourgeois class rule, which was brought into being by overthrowing feudal system, did not bring about social ownership of the means of production but rather established individual and private ownership over the entire productive system—not only could economic exploitation be uprooted but the equality offered to the people was also bound to be, under the circumstances, just a formal equality. But this does not mean that nothing significant came out of the

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UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Urges to Safeguard Workers' Cause Unitedly

The West Bengal State Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in a meeting held on 27th October, 1975 viewed with serious concern the situation arising out of mass-scale retrenchment, lay off, lock-out, closure, early retirement and other anti-labour activities. The situation was brought to the urgent notice of the Labour Minister, Government of West Bengal in a letter addressed to him by Comrade Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary and urging him to call a meet-

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SUCI's Ideological Campaign Goes On

As part of an intensive programme of ideological and literary campaign, the SUCI set up more than a hundred stalls all over West Bengal in the district towns, sub-divisional headquarters and at the block level. In Calcutta, stalls were set up at Shyambazar five point crossing, Mirzapur street, Bowbazar street, Wellington Square, Park Circus, Dum Dum, Manicktola, Beliaghata, Behala, Rashbehari Avenue, Golpark, Sarsuna. For obvious reasons the number of stalls in this year were less than in the previous years and we had to face many difficulties and unpleasant situation in setting up the stalls and

conducting literary campaign.

All the stalls were well decorated with red flags and quotations from our beloved leader and teacher COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH, and these readily attracted the attention of the people. It was noticed that in all the stalls people gathered to look intently at the quotations from COMRADE GHOSH's works. Among many, some of which elicited high appreciation are, "Whether a party is talking of big ideals is not so much important. The decisive proof of whether their ideology is really high and noble is whether their leaders, cadres and supporters are reflecting a high cultural, moral and ethical standard in their personal life, day to day behaviour and political activities"; "Remember that a nation can stand on its feet even if it has not enough food to eat. Even going hungry it can fight if it does not lose its humanity. But if

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Observe 58th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution

● On 7th November: "RED FLAG" Coupon Collection Campaign.

● From 8th to 17th November:

Literary Campaign through Book-Stalls and Moving Squads and also holding of group sittings for upholding the teachings of the Great November Socialist Revolution.



Different SUCI Book Stalls at Calcutta

The Fascists Try To Consolidate And Centralise Power In The Parliament By Intimidation, Threat And Brute Majority

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waves of bourgeois democratic revolutions in different countries. Equality and equal freedom for all, at least in the eye of the law, were seriously attempted to be guaranteed, which feudal social system could not even dream of.

So, contrary to feudalism, the principle of equality and the rule of law against arbitrariness were to a very great extent implemented in practice. The bourgeois jurisprudence claiming formal equality of all before the eye of law developed and along with it, basing on its very ideas and concepts, the bourgeois judiciary, the bourgeois legal institutions also came into existence.

As parliamentary democracy emerged in human society as a political super-structure of the competitive character of the capitalist economy, it aimed at establishing and guaranteeing wider democracy in the political field manifesting itself through multi-party democracy in conformity with wider and freer competition in the economic field at the early stage of development of capitalism. Naturally, the fight which bourgeois democratic revolutions waged against absolutism and monarchy in order to establish greater individual liberty took a concrete shape in the form of separation of power between the three organs of the State viz., the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, as a guarantee against absolute concentration of power in the hands of the ruling party.

So it was this very idea of them that led the bourgeoisie to bring about a separation of power among the wings of the constitution, namely the legislative, executive and the judiciary having relatively independent right to discharge its functions and duties. Suitable procedures were also adopted to introduce methods of check and balance of power amongst these wings.

This doctrine of separation of power was originally developed by Montesquieu in his 'Esprit des Lois'—on the basis of the contemporary bourgeois political system, who saw it as the chief safeguard of political liberty. In support of the tripartite division of the constitutional wings, it was argued that each and every function must be exercised by a separate and independent organ if any guarantee of political liberty was to be secured within bourgeois socio-political economic framework. It was a time when the liberal bourgeois political ideology of the then period was in the main encapsulated in the principle of separation of power.

Though this doctrine of separation of power could not be said to have been fully and equally implemented in practice in all the bourgeois countries, yet none could ignore the fact that in every bourgeois country of the then period, this doctrine had its much influence to work upon the course of development of the different constitutional wings and distribution of power among them.

Even in those countries where the bourgeois parliament had grown through the centuries out of the struggle of the then people against monarchy, absolutism and feudalism, and where for obvious reason, the parliament, being considered to be the representative of the will and power of the people, was made all powerful, apprehending lest the exercise of certain powers of the parliament might be influenced by the majority party in power for fulfilling their narrow party interest, the said powers were delegated to the other wings of the constitution.

This point deserves special mentioning in view of the fact that in many capitalist-imperialist countries, in different parts of the world, pertinent issues are being raised, relating to their constitu-

tion, the relative separation of power among its three wings viz, the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. The question is often being raised whether, one while amending one's constitution does possess the right to take any step that may be supposed to be a violation of the principle of equality and rule of law considered to be, along with others the integral parts of the so called basic structure of the constitution in different bourgeois countries.

The issue has already been raised, whether, the legislative can decide anything which is supposed to be a judicial power, and whether the legislative should have the plenary power to amend the constitution to any extent, even if that change is supposed to cover the basic structure of the constitution, so to say, etc. etc.

In this connection, one must not fail to note one important point. It is often being observed that the ruling bourgeoisie in different countries, in their effort to defend some of their activities, as is their usual practice, refer to various practices and provisions of the bourgeois constitution and power of the bourgeois parliament of other capitalist-imperialist countries. They forget that though the bourgeois parliament and bourgeois constitution evolved during the period of bourgeois democratic revolution, after fighting against and giving defeat to monarchy and absolutism, but in all those countries the course of evolution of the same did not follow an identical path. In fact in every country, the process was different, although the content was more or less the same. Each bourgeois country had its own particular course of development of its constitution, guided by its own objective situation, background and socio-economic and political factors.

The uneven developments in socio-economic

and political fields in different countries have therefore been reflected in the differences that in reality exist in their constitutions and the rights, powers and obligations of the different wings of their constitutions. The point also becomes amply clear, if one takes note of existing differences in the methods and procedures that are being practised in different bourgeois countries to amend the so-called structures of their constitutions.

In such a situation it is only logical that one should never refer to others' particular constitutional practices and provisions as a plea in defense of one's attempt to effect any change in his own. Because, in each and every country these practices and provisions have developed in conformity with the level of development of democracy, democratic norms, values and rights in that particular country. So, the practices and provisions that have developed and are being followed in a particular country, can not and must not be mechanically copied in any other country where the degree of political and democratic consciousness of the people and the respect still shown to the democratic norm and tradition by the party in power are essentially different from that of the former.

Role of bourgeois Parliament in the period of monopoly capitalism and fascism

Now the dawn of the bourgeois democratic revolution with its Laissez-faire economy permitting free and equal competition in the economic field did not continue for ever. Following the course of history, the free and equal competition in the economic field, in course of time, at a particular stage of development gave birth to monopoly and finance capital. Pre-monopoly capitalism was transformed into monopoly capitalism. Following the growth of

classes in different countries, on the face of growing all out crisis are bringing about coalescence of private monopoly capital with the state capital, making the State a subservient instrument of monopoly capital and thereby leading to the creation of state monopoly capitalism, the rock bottom economic foundation of fascism.

Thus it is crystal clear that as monopoly capitalism developed, doing away with the previous free and equal competition in the economic field, the wider democracy in the political super-structure was bound to be destroyed. So the glory and fame once associated with parliamentary democracy offering wider democracy within the bounds of bourgeois democratic set-up in the period of progressive capitalism was completely destroyed in the hands of the same bourgeoisie during the period of monopoly and finance capital either by the destruction of parliamentary set-up and invoking of fascism or by setting up of a two-party democracy which was nothing but another variety of fascism under the garb of parliament.

So, today fascism has become a general international phenomenon in the capitalist-imperialist world. In the present stage when the capitalism has entered in its third phase of world wide intensive general crisis, in the capitalist countries,—be it developed or under developed, the crisis has become an everyday phenomenon. On the face of this growing intensive crisis, with the sole intention of safe-guarding their very existence that is being threatened, each and every capitalist country, in whatever stage of development it may exist, is at present showing growing tendencies of fascism.

Today in the present stage of monopoly capitalism and fascism, the bourgeoisie, the monopolist

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Whoever Stands Against Fascism Advocates Decentralisation of Power

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unlike the bourgeoisie of the era of free and equal competition do not possess any respect for the principle of equality and rule of law. The bourgeoisie in the era of pre-monopoly capitalism, in conformity with the spirit of free and equal competition in the economic field also advocated administrative neutrality, impartial and relatively independent judiciary and the prevalence of democratic rights and political liberty in the country. But no sooner than the era of free and equal competition came to an end giving birth to monopoly capitalism the administrative machinery lost their relative neutrality and along with other bourgeois apparatus and institutions became more and more committed to the monopolists.

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The bourgeoisie who was once more attached to individual liberty and freedom has now become more attached to militarism and bureaucracy. At present, though the real motive and intention is the same, depending upon different objective conditions obtaining in different countries, according to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a leading Marxist thinker of the present era, our revered leader and teacher, "fascism is manifesting itself in diverse forms more markedly in the state structure and administrative set up of all capitalist countries, developed or backward" (Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—On some International questions).

"Even in countries with long parliamentary tradition, parliamentary democratic rights and privileges are being gradually curtailed. Even to the bourgeoisie parliament is fast losing its utility". (Ibid) In these countries, the parliament, though kept alive is transformed into a defunct institution devoid of any real power. In some other capitalists-imperialists

States, where a large section of the people, being politically less mature, suffer from the illusion that the bourgeois parliament may still work as an "instrument of people's will", (an illusion that is being attempted to keep alive among the people in those countries by the bourgeoisie and the Khrushchevite communists) where the genuine communists are organisationally weak, and where there is also lack of strong opposition force, the fascists may try to take recourse to different tactics. The fascist party with the backing of the permanent wings of the bourgeois state machinery may try to capture the parliament, consolidate and centralise the power in the parliament with the help of brute majority, intimidation and threat, and thereby try to establish dictatorship in the "Constitutional" form which then may be given the nomenclature of "Constitutional dictatorship". Some sort of a similar phenomenon termed to be the "Parliamentary dictatorship" of Crispi, once experienced in Italian history was considered to be a precursor of fascist movement there. Structurally Crispi's Italian model of "Parliamentary dictatorship" was composed of dictatorial power concentrated in the hands of a social democrat Prime Minister, belonging to the ruling section of the bourgeoisie.

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In different countries, in different parts of the world, many a time, it is being noted that the bourgeois political forces, be it the social democratic forces manifesting the symptoms of a fascist or the conservative right reactionary forces, one

often criticises the other and labels other's actions and activities as to be most undemocratic and ill-designed to bring about fascism in the country. Moreover, in many countries, many bourgeois oppositional parties, the right reactionary forces at times not only protest against the undemocratic measures adopted by the fascists in power but also attempt to organise some sort of people's movement against these fascist measures, of course with an eye to future elections.

But none should harbour any illusion regarding the role of these forces. These parties, having no difference in basic class angularity with the fascist forces always endeavour to come to political power by winning a majority in the parliament as alternate bourgeois political force. If they succeed in their bid they too like any other ruling bourgeois party keep intact the socio-economic political framework of capitalism. And in the present era of moribund capitalism, when the bourgeoisie has turned out and out reactionary it is no wonder that if these forces capture political power, they too would never attempt to widen the horizon of democratic right and political liberty in those countries. Rather situation permitting, there is every likelihood on their part to push the country towards military dictatorship.

The measures adopted by the fascists to curb the political and democratic rights of the people, for obvious reasons would appear to them as most suitable for perpetrating the bourgeois class exploitative rule in the country. It is therefore quite likely that they too would follow the footsteps of the fascists in curtailing the democratic rights and the political liberty of the people. In fact they would only inherit the legacy left behind by the fascist predecessors.

So, in the present era

of moribund capitalism when the bourgeoisie has totally become reactionary, none of the bourgeois parties be it the ruling or the oppositional, who are committed to serve the cause of the ruling capitalist class, can uphold democracy and political liberty in any part of the world, in the truest sense. And it is the genuine Marxists-Leninists who participate in the democratic struggle with the sole object of lifting the struggle one day to a higher level following the exhaustion of the democratic phase, for developing the struggle for socialism, can understand the real significance, role and necessity of the prevalence of the democratic and political consciousness among the fighting working people. So, it is only the genuine Marxists-Leninists who struggle for democratic right and political liberty of the people, during the phase of democratic struggle, always struggle for protecting the right and uphold the function of the democratic institutions and never misuse them for petty interest in the name of 'revolution'.

Can bourgeois Parliament serve as the "Instrument of people's will"?

In different countries it is being experienced that all sections of the bourgeoisie—be it the ruling or the oppositional, whenever they advocate any change of their constitution or any redistribution of power and functions among the different wings of their constitution they do it in the name of the people, the preservation of their basic interest and in the name of bringing about basic remedy for all ills from which they are at present suffering. Some of them even speak in such terms as if one can achieve socialism through these measures, keeping intact the basic socio-economic-political framework of capitalism! All of them are speaking as if the bourgeois set up with its different institutions, with certain changes and alterations here and there of the relative powers and functions of the different

wings of the bourgeois constitution including the bourgeois parliament, may work as the panacea of all ills of our people. But on the contrary, the basic remedy lies in a fundamentally different path. It is only by replacing capitalist framework along with all of its institutions and organs by socialism along with all its new organs and institutions that one day the basic problems of the fighting exploited people of any country can be resolved.

To a student of science and dialectics, the course of evolution and decay of the bourgeois parliament and bourgeois constitution is amply clear. It has already been referred to earlier that the bourgeois parliament along with the other wings of the bourgeois constitution evolved at a particular phase of historical development of the society to serve the political super-structure of the competitive capitalist economic base. So in a capitalist set up, the bourgeois parliament, the bourgeois constitution with all its wings can not but serve the ruling class, the bourgeoisie in power. It is therefore quite obvious that the bourgeois parliament is bound to fail to serve the interest of the exploited people fighting against the bourgeoisie, following their own independent, anti capitalist revolutionary line to establish a new state and society in place of the old capitalist state and society by achieving socialism under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. Simultaneously with the replacement of the bourgeois state by the socialist state, the role of the bourgeois parliament becomes exhausted and therefore with the establishment of socialism this political super structure is substituted by new super-structure, new organs to serve the socialist economic base.

To quote Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a leading Marxist thinker of the era, our revered leader and teacher, "Parliament developed in a particular historical phase in the

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The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat

From this theme I take the three main questions: a) the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument of the proletarian revolution; b) the dictatorship of the proletariat as the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie; c) the Soviet power as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

1. The dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument of the proletarian revolution. The question of the proletarian dictatorship is above all a question of the main content of proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its scope and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most important mainstay, brought into being for the purpose of, firstly, crushing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and consolidating the achievements of the proletarian revolution, and, secondly, carrying the proletarian revolution to its completion, carrying the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. The revolution can vanquish the bourgeoisie, can overthrow its power, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the revolution will be unable to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, to maintain its victory and to push forward to the final victory of socialism unless, at a certain stage in its development, it creates a special organ in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as its principal mainstay.

"The fundamental question of revolution is the question of power" (Lenin). Does this mean that all that is required is to assume power, to seize it? No, it does not mean that. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For many reasons the bourgeoisie

that is overthrown in one country remains for a long time stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the whole point is to retain power, to consolidate it, to make it invincible. What is needed to attain this? To attain this it is necessary to carry out at least the three main tasks that confront the dictatorship of the proletariat "on the morrow" of victory:

a) to break the resistance of the landlords and capitalists who have been overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital;

b) to organize construction in such a way as to rally all the labouring people around the proletariat, and to carry on this work along the lines of preparing for the liquidation, the abolition of classes;

c) to arm the revolution, to organize the army of the revolution for the struggle against foreign enemies, for the struggle against imperialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is needed to carry out, to fulfil these tasks.

"The transition from capitalism to communism," says Lenin, "represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated the exploiters will invariably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope will be converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat the exploiters—who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it—will throw themselves with tenfold energy, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of their lost 'paradise', on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' work)...In the train of capitalist exploi-

ters will be found the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom the historical experience of every country for decades testifies that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, grow nervous, run about aimlessly, snivel, and rush from one camp to the other." (Lenin *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 140-41.)

And the bourgeoisie has its grounds for making attempts at restoration, because for a long time after its overthrow it remains stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it.

"If the exploiters are defeated in one country only," says Lenin, "and this, of course, is typical, since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception, they still remain stronger than the exploited. (Ibid, p 140.)

J. V. STALIN

Wherein lies the strength of the overthrown bourgeoisie?

Firstly, "in the strength of international capital, and in the durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie." (Lenin *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 60)

Secondly, in the fact that "for a long time after the revolution the exploiters inevitably continue to enjoy a number of great practical advantages: they still have money (since it is impossible to abolish money all at once), some movable property—often fairly considerable; they still have various connections, habits of organization and management, knowledge of all the 'secrets' (custom, methods, means and possibilities) of management, superior education, close connections with the higher technical

personnel (who live and think like the bourgeoisie), incomparably greater experience in the art of war (this is very important), and so on, and so forth." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p.140.)

Thirdly, "in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale;....." for "the abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists—that we accomplished with comparative ease—it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed, we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, pp 60, 83.)

That is why Lenin says:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow"; that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society." (Ibid, pp. 60, 84.)

It need hardly be proved that there is not the slightest possibility of carrying out these tasks in a short period, of doing all this in a few years. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat the transition from capitalism to communism, must not be regarded as a fleeting period of "super-revolutionary" acts and decrees, but as an entire historical era, replete with civil wars and external conflicts,

with persistent organizational work and economic work and economic construction, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats. This historical era is needed not only to create the economic and cultural prerequisites for the complete victory of socialism, but also to enable the proletariat, first, to educate itself and become steeled as a force capable of governing the country, and, secondly, to re-educate and remould the petty bourgeois strata along such lines as will assure the organization of socialist production.

Marx said to the workers:

"You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international conflicts, not only to change existing conditions, but also to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power."

Continuing and developing Marx's idea still further, Lenin wrote that:

It will be necessary under the dictatorship of the proletariat to re-educate "millions of peasants and small masters, hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals," to subordinate "all these to the proletarian state and to proletarian leadership,"—in a protracted struggle waged on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—re-educate the proletarians themselves, who do not abandon their petty-bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, at the behest of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty bourgeois influences." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, pp. 157, 156.)

2. The dictatorship of the proletariat as the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. From the foregoing, it is evident that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of personalities in

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

the government, a change of "cabinet", etc., leaving the old economic and political order intact. The Mensheviks and opportunists of all countries, who fear dictatorship like fire and in their fright substitute the concept "conquest of power" for the concept "dictatorship of the proletariat," usually reduce the meaning of "conquest of power" to a change of "cabinet", to the accession to power of a new ministry made up of people like Scheidemann and Noske, MacDonald and Henderson. It is hardly necessary to explain that these and similar cabinet changes have nothing in common with the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the conquest of real power by the real proletariat. The MacDonalds and Scheidemanns in power, while the old bourgeois order is allowed to remain, their so-called governments can not be anything else than an apparatus serving the bourgeoisie, a screen to hide the ulcers of imperialism, a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the oppressed and exploited masses—Capital needs such governments as a screen when it finds it inconvenient, unprofitable, difficult to oppress and exploit masses without the aid of a screen. Of course the appearance of such governments is a symptom that "over there" (i.e., in the capitalist camp) "all is not quiet at the Shipka Pass" *—nevertheless governments of this kind necessarily remain governments of capital in disguise. The government of MacDonald or a Scheidemann is as far removed from the conquest of by the proletariat as the sky from the earth. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of government, but a new state, with new organs of

* Russian saying carried over from the Russo-Turkish War. Heavy fighting was taking place at the Shipka Pass, in which Russians were suffering severe losses, but Russian Headquarters in their *communiques* reported: "All quiet at the Shipka Pass."—Ed. Eng. ed

power, both central and local; it is the state of the proletariat, which has arisen on the ruins of the old state of the bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship of the proletariat arises not on the basis of the bourgeois order, but in the process of the breaking up of this order after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, in the process of the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, in the process of the socialization of the principal instruments and means of production, in the process of violent proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolutionary power based on the use of force against the bourgeoisie.

The state is a machine in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat does not differ essentially from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie. But there is one substantial difference. This difference consists in the fact that all hitherto existing class states have been dictatorships of an exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the exploited majority over the exploiting minority.

Briefly; *the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule unrestricted by law and based on force—of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a rule enjoying the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses.* (*The State and Revolution.*)

From this follow two main conclusions;

First conclusion; The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be "complete" democracy, democracy for all, for the rich as well as for the poor; the dictatorship of the proletariat "must be a state that is democratic in a new way—for * the proletarians and the propertyless in

general—and dictatorial—and dictatorial in a new way—against* the bourgeoisie....." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p.34)

The talk of Kautsky and Co. about universal equality, about "pure" democracy, about "perfect" democracy, and the like, is but a bourgeois screen to conceal the indubitable fact that equality between exploited and exploiters is impossible. The theory of "pure" democracy is the theory of the upper stratum of the working class, which has been broken in and is being fed by the imperialist robbers. It was brought into being for the purpose of concealing the ulcers of capitalism, of touching up imperialism and lending it moral strength in the struggle against the exploited masses. Under capitalism there are no real "liberties" for the exploited, nor can there be, if for no other reason than that the premises, printing plants, paper supplies, etc., indispensable for the actual enjoyment of "liberties" are the privilege of the exploiters. Under capitalism the exploited masses do not, nor can they really participate in the administration of the country, regime, governments, under the conditions of capitalism are not set up by the people but by the Rothschilds and Stimmeses, the Rockfellers and Morgans. Democracy under capitalism is capitalist democracy, the democracy of the exploiting minority, based on the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat are real "liberties" for the exploited and real participation of the proletarians and peasants in the administration of the country possible. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is proletarian democracy, the democracy of the exploited majority, based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority, and directed

* My italics—J. S.

against this minority.

Second conclusion: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot arise as the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can arise only as the result of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucratic machine, the bourgeois police.

In a preface to *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote:

"The working class can not simply lay hold of the ready-made state machine and wield it for its own purposes."

In a letter to Kugelmann (1871) Marx wrote that the task of the Proletarian revolution is "no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and that is a preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent."

Marx's qualifying phrase about the Continent gave the opportunists and Mensheviks of all countries a pretext for proclaiming that Marx had thus conceded the possibility of the peaceful evolution of bourgeois democracy into a proletarian democracy, at least in certain countries outside the European continent (England, America). Marx did in fact concede that possibility, and he had good grounds for conceding it in regard to England and America in the seventies of the last century when monopoly capitalism and imperialism did not yet exist, and when these countries, owing to the special condition of their development, had as yet no developed militarism and bureaucracy. That was the situation before the appearance of developed imperialism. But later, after a lapse of thirty or forty years, when the situation in these countries have radically changed, when imperialism had developed and had embraced

* Cf. *Letters to Kugelmann*, letter dated April 12, 1871—Ed. Eng. ed.

all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy had appeared in England and America also when the special conditions for peaceful development in England and the United States had disappeared—then the qualification in regard to these countries necessarily could no longer hold good.

"Today", said Lenin, "in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America the greatest and the last representative—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty', in the sense that militarism and bureaucracy were absent have today plunged headlong into the all-European, filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic—military institution to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. Today, in England and America, too, the preliminary condition for 'every real people's revolution' is the *smashing*, the *destruction* of the ready-made state machinery' (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)." (Lenin, *Selected works*, Vol. VII, p. 37)

In other words, the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine as a preliminary condition for such a revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world.

Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the most important capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a Socialist encirclement, a "peaceful" path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the "unfavourable" international situation, will consider it expedient "voluntarily" to make substantial concessions (Contd. to Page 8)

To Safeguard Democracy Independent Judiciary Free From Interference by other Organs and Party in Power must be Maintained

(Contd. from Page 3)

development of production as the super-structure of a given economic basis to serve the interests of a definite class as its political form of administration..... proletarian democracy whatever be its form according to the objective conditions obtaining in different countries is fundamentally different in character from bourgeois democracy (all kinds of bourgeois institutions) and hence the political institution of one can not serve as the political institution of the other. Parliament which is the super-structure of capitalist economy, the basis of the capitalist society, can not serve as the super-structure of socialist society. It not only cannot serve as super-structure of socialist economy, the basis of socialist society but also is bound to obstruct the growth and development of socialist society." (Ibid).

".....everything legal is not necessarily legitimate, justified and moral....."

During the course of discussion it has already been mentioned that in certain countries, in different parts of the world, the growing tendency of fascism is manifested along with other symptoms, through consolidation and centralisation of power in a particular bourgeois institution, one of the different wings of the bourgeois constitution. Contrary to this bid of centralising power in a particular institution that is being aimed at for developing fascism, in a capitalist State, decentralisation of power among different constitutional wings and organs along with the relatively independent entity of judiciary though in a very limited sense, may act as a brake in the process of consolidation of fascism in a country. So, in those capitalist countries, who desire to stand against fascism may advocate decentralisation of power among the different institu-

tions and organs of the capitalist State.

A question may be raised that in a capitalist State, where all the organs and institutions of the State in reality serve the interest of the ruling capitalist class, in so far as the question of protection of the interest of the exploited working people is concerned, will it really make any difference if the power is controlled by one particular organ or distributed among the different organs of the bourgeois State?

Now judging from the point of painful experience of the exploited people in different capitalist countries, where of and on they are being deprived of justice even by the legal institution that is supposed to have the duty and responsibility to guarantee equal justice to all, one may express doubt if any significant and notable change will at all take place in the direction of safe-guarding the interest of the exploited working people through distribution and decentralisation of powers among the different bourgeois organs, including in particular the legal institution.

Any student of ethics and jurisprudence well conversant with the laws of development of human society knows it well that like the ethical and moral values, the legality that once develops on the basis of legitimacy and social justice to fulfil the cause of social progress, though satisfy the need of the new society in the beginning, in course of time becomes a privilege to the ruling class, serve their class interest, and thereby becomes reactionary in character. Naturally, for carrying forward the cause of social progress, along with new ideas, new moral and ethical values, new concepts of legitimacy and social justice too emerge in the society. It is the oppressed and the exploited working people of the society who carry the banner of social progress, uphold this new code of life. The new ideas and

concepts, the new moral and ethical values and the new idea about legality sanctioned by the new concepts of legitimacy and social justice that are in conformity with the cause of social progress come into contradiction and conflict with the existing moral and ethical values and the existing laws that now serve the interest of the ruling class and ultimately in the struggle that follows, the old order changes yielding place to the new. With the emergence of the new society, the new ideas establish themselves. Old legality serving the interest of the ruling class fundamentally and completely changes giving birth to new legal laws and legal institutions for guiding the new society.

It is therefore evident that the guiding laws and legality in a capitalist State safeguard the interest of the ruling capitalist class. These laws for obvious reasons fail to cover the legitimate interest and cause of the oppressed and the exploited, the majority people of the society. So, in a class divided society there remains a gap, a contradiction between the existing legality serving the ruling class and the legitimacy and social justice that being conducive to the cause of social progress, serve the interest of the toiling exploited people of the country.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a leading Marxist thinker of the era, our revered leader and teacher has illumined the nature of this very contradiction existing between the legality and legitimacy through his famous expression, "Every student of ethics and jurisprudence knows that everything legal is not necessarily legitimate, justified and moral. Naturally every thing illegal is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral."

Legal institution, bourgeois Parliament and democracy

From our foregoing discussion, it may appear

that not to speak of other institutions and organs, in an existing capitalist State even the legal institution can not but serve the ruling capitalist class alone.

Yet one thing should not be forgotten. The bourgeoisie, once guided by the idea of implementing the professed principle of equality and rule of law, contrary to the idea of consolidating all power in one particular organ, brought about separation of powers among the different institutions and organs of the State, introduced suitable methods of check and balance of power between the said organs and tried to guarantee the relative independence of judiciary from interference by other organs and particularly the party in power, with the hope that anyone supposing even the other organs of the State doing injustice against him would have at least an opportunity to move for justice to other organs or institutions and particularly the legal institution of the State. Moreover, the idea of creating a relatively independent judiciary, free from interference by other organs of the State was visualised by the then bourgeoisie on the apprehension that as soon as the majority party in the legislature would form the Government, an identification between the executive and legislative, the two organs of the State was bound to happen. In such a situation the basic objective of the doctrine of separation of power would be frustrated if the third organ, namely the judiciary was not made a relatively independent organ free from being interfered by the other organs of the State or the party in power while discharging its duties and functions.

... ..
... ..
... ..

But still experiences tell that even in any capitalist State such a structure incorporating the doctrine

of separation of power between the organs of the State along with a relatively independent judiciary with its customary jurisdiction, judicial power and obligations may at least provide the people in any capitalist State with a scope, to whatever limited sense may it be, to move for justice and redress of their grievances to the extent the capitalist State and the capitalist class permit, despite the very hazardous process involved and length of time consumed in the judiciary.

It is no doubt a fact that legal views, legal system and legal institutions which include judiciary are the super-structure of the given economic base of the society. And in a capitalist society, for obvious reason these are meant to serve, consolidate and further strengthen the capitalist set up. But nevertheless, in the interest of safe-guarding whatever little democratic rights of the people exist in a capitalist State a relatively independent judiciary, with its customary jurisdiction and judicial power over organs of the State, and free from interference by other organs of the State must be maintained. Under no pretext, in parliamentary democracy, in any capitalist country, can the relative independence of the judiciary, its customary power and jurisdiction can be curtailed. Any curtailment of its judicial power, in parliamentary democracy in a capitalist-imperialist State will sound death-knell of whatever little democratic rights and political liberty of the people now exist in these countries and thereby pave the way for rise of fascism.

A historic lesson

Lastly we would like to highlight one important lesson to all those, who in any country, desire to stand for democracy, democratic right and political liberty. In the present third phase of worldwide

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A GOOD MONSOON— STILL A MENACE

Dry land farmers in arid and semi-arid regions of our country on 103 million hectares of land in 13 states, when monsoon sets in, pray for pouring of torrential rains, to wet their parched land. But all their hopes to transform their dried land into canopies of granary to produce grains are lost in vain. On the other hand, what we have been witnessing is that torrential rains have swelled major rivers in the northern and eastern parts of our country throwing normal life and means of transport and communication out of gear in flood-ravaged parts of 9 states viz. Assam, West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar in the east and Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan in the north. It is reported that this year about 2 million people have been rendered homeless and crops over 2,75,000 acres in Assam, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bihar have been destroyed by floods. The Brahmaputra and its tributaries as well as the Ganga, the Koshi and the Burhi Gandak have risen almost simultaneously, submerging vast tracts of land and thousands of villages in their command area.

Devastating flood of this year in the northern and eastern parts of our country reminds us of that very tragic story of shocking floods of the year 1954, 1968 and 1971.

About 20 million hectares of land is estimated to be susceptible to flood-damage in our country. However, reasonable protection can be given to only 16 million hectares. And of this 16 million only 7.1 million hectares of land were protected till the end of the Fourth Plan.

But the magnitude of the problem of flood devastation can be visualised from the enormous damage that has been occurring in the span of last 24 years. The essential loss was of the order of Rs. 21 crores

in 1950 while it was Rs. 631 crores in 1971. Average annual loss during the last four years was about Rs. 200 crores. The floods on an average have effected an area of 67 lakh hectares which include a cropped area of about 26 lakhs hectares valued at Rs. 88 crores. On an average 193 lakh persons per annum were miserably affected as also 735 human lives and 41,639 cattle heads have perished. The total damage works out to Rs. 126 crores per annum.

In 1951, when the First Plan was launched, multi-purpose river projects which inter alia laid emphasis on harnessing the rivers of sorrow for the purpose of irrigation,

generation of electricity and navigation were proposed and supposed to be adequate to solve the problem of flood. Hence, a separate flood control programme to tackle all out problems on a long-term basis was not considered necessary. Only after the tragic story of flood of 1954, the need for an independent and co-ordinated programme of flood-control was realised.

Since then many a body formed, many a programme have been undertaken, many a commission set,—but the fact remains that still now a good monsoon does not bring cheers to the farmers even after the lapse of 24 years. [All the statistics quoted above were taken from the Economic Times dated 14th September, 1975].

Lay-off, Suspension in National Engineering Works Withdrawn After Eleven Months' Struggle Under the Leadership Of UTUC (Lenin Sarani)

Suspended and laid-off Workers of National Engineering Works, Belgatchia (North Calcutta), have been reinstated in service on 17th October last, after 11 months' grim struggle under the leadership of West Bengal Engineering Workers' Union affiliated to U.T.U.C (Lenin Sarani).

When the Workers of this Factory launched a movement last year on 26th November to achieve their legitimate demands, the management started suspending and laying-off workers indiscriminately. There upon the workers protested vehemently. In order to create economic pressure on the struggling workmen the company closed down the factory. Under this circumstance, the workers, under the leadership of West Bengal Engineering Workers Union, launched a pro-

tracted struggle and ultimately forced the management to sign an agreement on 10th October last in the presence of the Assistant Labour Commissioner, Sri S. Chatterjee. According to this agreement all lay-off and suspension orders have been unconditionally withdrawn and all the workers have been reinstated from 17th October, 1975. Further, the management have also agreed to clear off all the arrears in bonus, D.A. and increment due to the workers for the last year and this year.

Trade Union Leader, Comrade Fatick Ghosh, Comrade Ganesh Das Gupta and Comrade Ashish Sinha signed the agreement on behalf of the Union. This remarkable victory has created a tremendous enthusiasm among the workers and the local toiling people.

Drought and Flood Shadow People's Life in Orissa

(By a Staff correspondent)
Cuttack, October, 2.

The people of Orissa gets no respite from the alternating miseries either from drought or flood. During 1974-75 near scarcity conditions developed from the very beginning of the year and the situation further deteriorated towards October-November and the state government had to declare 2,478 village panchayats out of 3,826 as drought-affected. Thus two-thirds of the total area of the state involving a population of 12 millions were badly hit by drought.

But as if this was not all to fill the cup of miseries of the people, the recent high floods came to ravage their roots of life. In the Western districts particularly, the river of Baitarani, Brahmani and others have brought untold miseries to the people and severe damage to their property. Eight districts populated by two millions people have been laid low by the fury of the floods. The poor had to huddle together on the embankments, having practically nothing on the top to protect themselves from the torrential rains.

The river Brahmani has breached in as many as six places on the embankments. Utikan estate comprised of 90 villages within

the Cuttack district, known as granary of the district, were swept by flood waters. The 'Dasahajari bundh' built by an ex-zamindar (at the cost of Rs. 10,000) some 200 years back, went unrepaired and not properly maintained and thus allowing this time being severely breached by river waters. The disaster caused can well be calculated if one takes account that about 36,000 acres of agricultural lands went under water.

The condition of poor people of the villages beggars description. The scour of drought was still writ large on them when the floods came.

The gigantic nature of the task of dashing relief and medical aid can easily be gauged if account is taken of a rough estimate of damage brought by recent flood. Out of 58 lakh hectares of agricultural lands submerged about 28 lakh hectares are estimated to be badly damaged and from a very rough estimate, more than one and a half lakh of houses have either collapsed or damaged.

The situation is no doubt calamitous and calls for pooling of resources and organisational strengths (contd. to page 8)

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

(Contd from Page 6)

general crisis of capitalism, with a view to safeguarding their existence, the bourgeoisie, that long ago has turned out and out reactionary, are attempting to take recourse to fascistic measures, trampling down little democratic right and political liberty that the people once enjoyed even in capitalism. In such a situation, it is only the genuine Marxists-Leninists, who participate in the democratic struggles, and following the exhaustion of the democratic phase, lift the struggle to a higher phase for develop-

ing the struggle for people's liberation, genuinely uphold the cause of democracy, democratic right and political liberty in capitalists-imperialists States.

The banner of democracy and democratic right that long ago was left to the ground by the bourgeoisie, has been lifted aloft by the communist-revolutionaries, who in different parts of the world are fighting for people's emancipation by establishing a new society, free from all sorts of oppression and exploitation of man by man.

SUCI's Ideological Campaign Goes On Some SUCI Publications

(Contd. from Page 1)

fascism is established, there wouldn't be many in the country worthy of being called a man. Because fascism creates obstruction in very process of making a man."

When leaving the stall the member of public were heard, expressing their deep sense of appreciations for these quotations.

Even though the number of stalls were less this year, literature sale exceeded the figures of the last years. Thousands of booklets and party literature were sold from the stalls. Side by side with our stalls, in several localities, the CPI, CPI(M), and even RSP and other leftist parties also put up stalls. But remarkably people thronged only to our stalls. This is a clear indication that not only is the attraction to our party thoughts increasing day by day, but it is to us that the people anxiously turn to get answers to their different burning problems of life, and to get correct evaluation which provides them with materials for serious thinking. The people displayed an eagerness to know more about our party's stand on various national and international questions and in particular COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH's analysis on these questions and to get the correct guide line from him covering all aspects of life. In this Sarat Centenary year there was a great demand for COMRADE GHOSH's evaluation of Sarat Chandra, and several thousand copies of the special issue of "Yuba Sanskriti" containing an article by COMRADE GHOSH on the evaluation of Sarat Chandra were exhausted in the first few days. Other booklets which were sold in large numbers are "Yuba Samajer Parti", "Task Ahead of the Students and Youths", "Sanskritik Abakshoy-O-Bekar Samasyer Samadhan Kon Pathe", "Chasi Andolon Prasange", "The Cultural Movement in

India and Our Tasks", "Speech on 24th April, 1975", "Keno Bharater Matite SUC Ekmatra Samyabadi Dal", "SUCI-CPI(M) Polemic", "Chiner Sanskritik Biplab", "Indonesiar Tirishe Septemberer Byartha Couper Patabhumikar Ekti Bishleshan", etc.

A special feature of this year was the interest displayed by numerous non-Bengali speaking people. We received many friendly complaints, "Why don't you publish more translations of the writings of Shibdas Ghosh"? In all the stalls there were enquiries about party literature and COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH's articles in Hindi, Oriya, Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam etc.

At the same time we had to face much hindrance in our literary campaigns and in putting up the stalls. We are mentioning here a few of the many incidents. In Purulia town and in the Santaldih Thermal Plant, in Asansol and Burnpur, we could not set up stalls because of the rowdism and obstruction from certain quarters. At Raghunathpur in Purulia District, because of the same reason we had to close down the stalls.

At Park Circus in Calcutta even though we obtained the necessary permission from the Police and the Corporation, the hooligans and anti-socials, backed by certain influential quarter, and some other forces obstructed us and created disturbances. They even went to the extent of insulting and assaulting the female comrades selling party literature. Though at the same locality CPI and CPI(M) stalls were allowed to function smoothly, we painfully observed that all the attack was specifically directed against us. At Chetla, Calcutta, also while the CPI and CPI(M) were allowed to set up the stalls, we were prevented from doing so.

At Shyambazar we were forced to move away from the five point crossing on the second day and Komsomal (Young Communist Wing of SUCI) members were continuously obstructed and harassed by the interested circle. In spite of that due to the spontaneous cooperation of the people and doggedness of the Komsomal members, this stall recorded the highest circulation and sale.

It is also noteworthy that all these obstructions, threats and even physical attacks against the stalls were foiled due to determined efforts of the Comrades on one hand and spontaneous and growing support from amongst the members of the public on the other.

The wonderfully heartening performance of the stalls is a clear indication that while certain quarters are trying to obstruct us, our Party's correct ideology and revolutionary base political line, concretised by the thoughts of COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH, are gaining more and more support from the toiling people. The more the pseudo-revolutionaries and the vested interests are witnessing the growing popularity of our Party, the more frightened they are getting and the more they are becoming desperate to suppress us. But they forget that it is the correct ideology, revolutionary base political line and correct leadership under whose banner the people always unite and it is this ideology which provides them with an invincible weapon to overthrow all forms of oppression and exploitation.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

(Contd. from Page 5)

to the proletariat. But this supposition applies only to a remote and possible future. With regard to the immediate future, there is no ground whatsoever for this supposition.

Therefore, Lenin is

- Tasks Ahead of the Students and Youths 0.50 p.
- The Cultural Movement in India and Our Tasks 1.00
- A Scientific Approach to Our Educational Cultural Problems 0.40 p.
- On Steps taken by CPSU against Stalin 0.50 p.
- On Some International Questions 2.00
- An Appeal to the Leaders of the International Communist Movement 0.50 p.
- SUCI-CPI(M) Polemic 1.75p.
- On the latest stand of the CPI (M) Central Committee 0.25
- Chin-Ki Sanskritik Kranti (Hindi) 1.00
- Yuba Samaj-Ke Prati (Hindi) 0.75

Letter of Com. Fatick Ghosh

Comrade Fatick Ghosh, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and a member of the State Labour Advisory Board, West Bengal in a letter dated 22.10.75, addressed to Dr. Gopal Das Nag, the State Labour Minister, while drawing serious attention to lock-out, lay-off, retrenchment and closure in a number of industries has asked for immediate convening a meeting of the State Labour Advisory Board.

We give below the full text of Comrade Fatick Ghosh's letter:

....

DROUGHT AND FLOOD

(Contd. from Page 7)

of different political parties and organisations, to the maximum, simply on the humanitarian consideration.

In such a trying situation, our party units, the AIDSO., KKMf etc are doing whatever is possible, standing by the distressed and homeless people in organising relief and help.

right in saying:

"The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one....." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. VII, p. 124)

(To be concluded)

Safeguard Worker's Cause Unitedly

(Contd. from Page 1)

ing of the West Bengal State Labour Advisory Board.....

... ..

..... UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and all other Central Trade Unions have expressed their strong feelings against the Bonus Ordinance.

With a view to come to a common line of united defence to safeguard the workers' interest, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) has taken the initiative to call a meeting of all the left and democratic Central Trade Unions viz., CITU, UTUC (Bowbazar), TUCC, HMS and HMP on 3rd November, 1975.

The West Bengal State Committee in its meeting further decided that ways and means to meet unitedly the attack on the workers and employees will be evolved in a convention proposed to be held on 17th November '75. The proposal will be discussed in the meeting of the Central Trade Unions to be held on 3rd November, 1975.